

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 12721 01 OF 02 051657Z

43

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 PM-03 DODE-00 L-02 PRS-01

MBFR-02 OMB-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-10 IO-03 DRC-01 EB-03 /073 W

----- 012443

P R 051643Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7250

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 12721

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, US, EEC, GW, FR, NATO

SUBJECT: STATE SECRETARY FRANK'S VIEWS ON

US/EUROPEAN DIALOGUE

REF: BONN 12589

BEGIN SUMMARY: STATE SECRETARY FRANK GAVE THE AMBAS-
SADOR HIS VIEWS SEPTEMBER 4 ON THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE
US/EUROPEAN DIALOGUE, BASED ON HIS AUGUST 29 DISCUSSION
WITH FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT IN PARIS. WHILE
CONGRUENT WITH THE VIEWS RECENTLY EXPRESSED BY FOREIGN
MINISTER SCHEEL (REFTEL), FRANK'S REVIEW OF THE SITUA-
TION WAS DISTINCTLY LESS POSITIVE, WITH FRANCO-GERMAN
DIFFERENCES MUCH MORE CLEARLY DELINEATED. IT WAS CLEAR
FROM WHAT FRANK SAID THAT THE GERMANS ARE UNCOMFORTABLE
AT BEING CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE BETWEEN THE US AND FRANCE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 12721 01 OF 02 051657Z

END SUMMARY.

1. FRANK SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE THE FRG ATTACHED TO THE EUROPEAN DIALOGUE WITH THE US, AND IN ORDER TO OBTAIN POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDINGS, CHANCELLOR BRANDT HAD PROPOSED TO PRESIDENT POMPIDOU THAT FRANK CONSULT WITH JOBERT. FRANK MET WITH JOBERT IN PARIS AUGUST 29 (BRIMELOW HAD SEEN JOBERT ON A SIMILAR MISSION SHORTLY BEFORE).

2. FRANK SAID HE OUTLINED FOR JOBERT THE FRG'S APPROACH TO THE DIALOGUE. GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY RESTED ON THE TWIN PILLARS OF FRANCO-GERMAN COOPERATION AND ALLIANCE WITH THE US. THESE WERE NOT ALTERNATIVE POLICIES. GERMANY PURSUED BOTH OBJECTIVES IN TANDEM. EVERYTHING THAT HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN WESTERN EUROPE SINCE 1945 WAS DONE WITH US HELP, NOT IN OPPOSITION TO THE US. GERMANY WAS AFRAID THAT IF THERE SHOULD OCCUR A WEAKENING OF THE US ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE, THE POLITICAL SITUATION WOULD CHANGE FUNDAMENTALLY. WESTERN EUROPEAN UNITY WOULD CRUMBLE, AND THERE WOULD BE NO EFFECTIVE FORCE TO OPPOSE SOVIET EXPANSIONISM.

3. ACCORDING TO FRANK, JOBERT STRESSED REPEATEDLY THE POINT THAT FRANCE HAS EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH US, ALTHOUGH FRANCE'S APPROACH TO THE DIALOGUE IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM BONN'S. THE US WAS ACTING IN ITS OWN INTERESTS, AND IT WOULD BE ERRONEOUS TO MAKE THE UNITY OF EUROPE DEPENDENT ON A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US.

4. THE OPERATIONAL RESULT OF HIS MEETING WITH JOBERT, FRANK SAID, WAS THAT THE FRENCH ARE PARTICIPATING IN WORKING OUT A DECLARATION BASED ON A BRITISH DRAFT. JOBERT COMMENTED THAT, IF SOMETHING THAT THIN WOULD SATISFY THE AMERICANS, HE WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE BRITISH DRAFT PROVIDED IT WAS NOT CHANGED AND WAS SUPPORTED AS NOT REQUIRING SUPPLEMENTATION BY THE NINE

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 12721 02 OF 02 051701Z

40

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 PM-03 DODE-00 L-02 PRS-01

MBFR-02 OMB-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-10 IO-03 DRC-01 EB-03 /073 W

----- 012478

P R 051643Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7251

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 12721

LIMDIS

WHEN ADOPTED. (FRANK SAID HE WAS PUZZLED AT THE BRITISH DRAFT WHICH "DID NOT CORRESPOND TO THE DEGREE OF CONCERN" PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED BY PRIME MINISTER HEATH. FRANK WONDERED ABOUT THE US VIEW OF THE BRITISH PAPER.) THE FRENCH OPPOSED "GLOBALIZATION" IN THE DECLARATION, WHICH IN THEIR VIEW COULD DEAL ONLY WITH A FEW BASIC ISSUES. OTHER ISSUES SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE PROPER FORUM--GATT, IMF, ETC. FRANCE OPPOSES THE CONTINUATION OF AN ORGANIZED US/EUROPEAN DIALOGUE SUCH AS THE FRG WANTS. FRANCE IS COMPLETELY OPPOSED TO ANY MENTION OF BURDEN SHARING IN THE DECLARATION. THE FRENCH DO NOT CONTEMPLATE A WESTERN SUMMIT MEETING IN CONNECTION WITH A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT. IF SECURITY ISSUES ARE DEALT WITH IN NATO, THE FRENCH HAVE NOTHING AGAINST THE PRESIDENT'S BEING THERE, BUT THEY OPPOSE THE PRESENCE OF OTHER HEADS OF STATE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 12721 02 OF 02 051701Z

5. FRANK SAID JOBERT ACCUSED THE FRG OF BEING A US SATELLITE, A KIND OF TROJAN HORSE IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, OVERLY CONCERNED WITH THE US ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE. THE US/SOVIET AGREEMENT TO PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR SHOWED THAT THE US ENGAGEMENT WAS IN THE US'S OWN INTERESTS. THE FRG SHOULD FOLLOW THE FRENCH EXAMPLE. THE FRENCH, FRANK CONTINUED, BELIEVE THE FORCE DE FRAPPE IS A VIABLE DEFENSE ALTERNATIVE TO THE US ENGAGEMENT, A VIEW TOTALLY CONTRARY TO GERMAN THINKING. ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE FORTHCOMING MBFR TALKS--ON WHICH BONN

AND PARIS HAVE DEEP-SEATED DIFFERENCES--THE FRG BELIEVED IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR THE ALLIANCE MEMBERS TO STAND TOGETHER. FRANK SAID HE THOUGHT FRENCH POLICY WAS IN A KIND OF PARALYSIS AT PRESENT. THE FRENCH DON'T SEEM TO KNOW WHAT THEY REALLY WANT, OTHER THAN BEING GENERALLY NEGATIVE.

6. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTION WHETHER THE FRENCH ATTITUDE WAS TACTICAL OR REFLECTED BASIC POLITICAL MOTIVATION, FRANK SAID IT SEEMED TO BE A MATTER OF DOGMA. PERHAPS THE FRENCH BELIEVE THAT IF THE US IS DE-COUPLED FROM EUROPE, THEY WILL BECOME THE WORLD'S FIFTH POWER. IF THE FRENCH APPROACH IS TACTICAL, FRANK SAID, HE COULD NOT SEE WHAT THEY REALLY WANT.

7. IN CONCLUSION, FRANK SAID THE FRG WOULD TRY ITS BEST FOR A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME TO THE COPENHAGEN FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING. HOWEVER, HE WANTED TO MAKE A MORAL DISCLAIMER IN CASE THE RESULTS WERE UNSATISFACTORY; THE FRG WOULD NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT. THERE WERE MANY THEORETICAL POSSIBILITIES BETWEEN THE US "MONSTER" DRAFT DECLARATION AND THE MINIMAL POSITION. THE GERMANS FELT STRONGLY THAT EUROPE AND THE US HAVE A COMMON INTEREST IN HOLDING A WESTERN SUMMIT MEETING BEFORE AN EAST/WEST SUMMIT TAKES PLACE.
HILLENBRAND

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN12721
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1 HILLENBRAND
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730955/aaaabocd.tel
Line Count: 195
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: BONN 12589
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31-Jul-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <17-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: STATE SECRETARY FRANK'S VIEWS ON US/EUROPEAN DIALOGUE
TAGS: PFOR, US, GE, FR, EEC, NATO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005